

Suggested Task Teams:

Provincial:

- 1. Training and mobilisation/events**
- 2. Media, briefing + communication**
- 3. Fundraising**
- 4. Legal support and monitoring**

Regional:

**REC + MPL/MP + staff -
no teams, geographic deployment**

Branch (under BEC)

- 1. Canvassing and registration**
- 2. Media distribution**
- 3. Events + outreach**
- 4. Fundraising**

GUIDELINES FOR STRUCTURES

- **One decision-making structure that includes officials from exec and key election team leaders, as well as Leagues, Alliance and MDM. Integrate any deployees from other levels in structure.**
- **Teams formed according to tasks and targets - recruit volunteers from ANC, Alliance, MDM**
- **Team leaders meet regularly as a management team to plan implementation**

Voters

There are about 22 million people of voting age., 48 % male and 52 % female. Of these, 16.8 m are African, 3.4 m whites, 1.5 m coloured and 0.5 m Indians. About 55% are in urban areas and 45% in rural areas. The provincial breakdown indicates that 40% of voters live in Gauteng and Kwazulu/Natal with 10% in the W. Cape. These figures indicate broadly our targets.

In terms of support, the ANC is still the dominant party with about 54% of the national vote. This is way below our 1994 result. Furthermore, there is a growing upward trend of detached voters who are undecided about who they will vote for - about 14%. These voters are pulling away from the ANC and are found mainly among young African men and older African women.

Mood amongst African voters is divided about the ANC and government performance in general. The main issues around which African voters are negative are:

- jobs
- poverty relating to price of food
- crime
- waste and corruption
- the ANC is distant and not there to explain lack of progress.

On the positive side, we are getting better ratings on:

- access to community services,
- water and electricity and
- health services.

From research on voter attitudes, key challenges for us are to show that:

- We are working to keep our promises
- Return the ANC to the people - listening campaign
- Acknowledge our lack of progress
- Justify expectations that the ANC is the only organisation that can bring a better life
- Build a united South Africa under the ANC

SUMMARY OF INPUT AND DISCUSSIONS ON ELECTION STRATEGY

This input covered the following areas:

- Setting goals
- Understanding and analysing the environment: voters, issues, ANC and Alliance/MDM, oppositions and legislatures
- Targeting voters: nationally and provincially
- Developing a message, communication strategy and manifesto
- Agree on a mobilisation strategy: approach, registration, education, motivation and election day; structures, budgets, internal communications, list process

1. Goal

It was agreed that we should be aiming for an overwhelming majority in the elections and to be the majority party in all nine provinces. In order to achieve our goal we need to :

- Consolidate our strong voters who intend to vote;
- Improve turnout of weak supporters i.e. those who will vote ANC if they do vote
- Convert weak undecided voters to vote ANC

It was noted that we must maximise turnout of our voters so that our victory is legitimate.

2. Analysis of the environment

This involved an analysis of :

- voters - demography, support , attitudes
- parties - ourselves (ANC and ANC with the Alliance and MDM), opposition parties
- political system - legislatures

Key points that came out of this analysis include:

African National Congress

6—7 JUNE 1998

National Elections Strategy Workshop

CONFIDENTIAL

Report



- The ANC is the only organisation that is capable of making a better life a reality.
- Committed to participation of people in our programme of transformation - notion of partnerships.

Communication strategy

How we put our message across is as important as what we say. We need to use all available means of communication but focus on direct voter contact such as a People's forums as part of reporting to the people listening campaign. Need to make strategic use of our President - he must be seen to be at the forefront of our campaign for e.g. Being tough on crime.

5. Mobilisation

The key issue is to maximise turnout of our supporters.

Our slogan: ***Reach every voter three times***

Main tasks

- Reporting to people - listening campaign where each province must have ten forums where communities are reported to by ANC leadership on government progress as well as have the space to raise issues with that leadership.
- ID and voter registration campaign, voter education
- Media distribution and other ways of communicating message
- Getting out the vote

Mobilisation: Key internal issues

- Building the alliance - speak with one voice, reaching out to MDM
- Election structures that are simple with one line of command
- Fundraising and Budgeting - reflect strategy
- Internal communication - two way flow

Election structures

At provincial, regional and branch level -one election team which includes all the officials from executive, team leaders, Leagues, Alliance, MDM and staff where exist. Integrate any deployees from other levels of the structure. Team Leaders form a management team for day to day implementation. Constitutional structures to drive the process.

ELECTION STRATEGY WORKSHOP

6-7 JUNE 1998

Notes for Opening Address

ELECTIONS AND TRANSFORMATION

The contestation of elections is one of the key vehicles through which the ANC pursues its goal of transformation.

The successful contestation of elections – with the achievement of an overwhelming majority – is necessary so that the ANC can:

- continue the process of transformation through legislation;
- direct the country's resources towards meeting the needs of the majority;
- transform the state to make it representative, accountable and able to serve the interests of the people;
- contribute through local government to local development and economic activity.

CURRENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The ANC is approaching elections within a very different political environment from when we last contested a national election.

Some of the positive features of the current environment include:

- the existence and application of a democratic constitutional dispensation, which not only guarantees basic rights and freedoms, but also compels government to play a transformative function;
- relative political stability and peace;
- substantial progress in shifting government priorities and resources towards meeting the needs of the majority;
- the continued dominance of the ANC as the primary force for change.

These positive features need to be weighed up against:

- a public service that despite some progress, is largely not transformed, nor adequately equipped to meet the demands expected of it;
- pockets of resistance to change within the security forces and other centres of power;
- an economy that still remains largely in a few, mostly white, hands;
- widespread unemployment and continuing poverty on a massive scale;
- a media which in general is antagonistic to the ANC and the process of transformation.

Among all the parties and organisations in the political spectrum, the ANC and its Alliance partners stand alone as the parties of democratic change. None of the other parties have the

In building the organisation, we should concentrate on:

- reviving and building branches through clear political programmes of action;
- recruitment, renewal and proper servicing of ANC membership;
- mechanisms for cadre development, particularly at branch level;
- improving internal communication and interaction between and among ANC structures.

Communicating effectively with the masses

In order to re-build the ANC's link with its mass constituency, it is going to be important to:

- interact more dynamically with the people, listening more carefully to their concerns and suggestions;
- develop and communicate clear and unambiguous messages about the ANC's programme for reconstruction and development;
- articulate the policies of the movement and the government more effectively;
- develop our communications capacity at all levels.

Strengthening the links between the ANC and government

The work of the movement and comrades deployed in government need to be more effectively aligned and coordinated through, among other things:

- effective mechanisms of report-back and accountability;
- the resolution of conflict and tension where it exists;
- greater responsibility among constitutional structures for the work of governance, including the establishment and functioning of Governance Committees at national and provincial level.

VOTER REGISTRATION

All voters will have to register at their nearest voting station during October 1998 to January 1999. This will require a massive mobilisation effort from the ANC.

There will be about 12 000 voting stations and each will cover an area called a voting district. All voters in that district have to get on the roll for that voting station to be able to vote on election day.

If we fail to register the 12 million people who voted for us in 1994, we will lose many votes long before the election. To get all voters to go and stand in a queue to register will take a huge amount of motivation and organisation – it is almost the same as an election day effort.

Voting districts will be small – 500 to 3000 voters, depending on the population density in the area. The same voting districts will later be used to build wards for local elections. This can only happen after the new boundaries are decided for local governments. For example if you have 20 voting districts in your area, and it is later decided that you will have 5 wards for local elections, 4 voting districts will be combined to form a ward.

About 500 registration officers are now being appointed by the IEC and will be responsible for coordinating voter registration. Most of these officers are attached to local government. All local councils will not be used for registration since some of them do not have the necessary capacity. Bigger councils will take care of the surrounding areas.

Where can you register?

In each voting district an existing office will be used to coordinate the work. At least one full time person will be there during office hours.

On 12 days during the registration period, the voting station will open and the public will be notified to come and register. On any other days, people can go to the office to register. If registration is low, the registration officer can also use door to door or other methods to reach people.

How do you register?

- You need a green ID book [issued after 1986]
- Go to the voting station or office and fill in a form to show that you live in the area

Many further examples can be provided, all of which add up to one fundamental dilemma: Parliament is not a rubber stamp whose function is merely to regulate/condone such steps as the IEC has already taken and arrangements it has already made. At the same time, the IEC would have had no chance of delivering elections in 1999 if it had had to await electoral legislation before starting to prepare for those elections. It is imperative that this dilemma be resolved within the next few months, by the passage of a new Electoral Act.

2. Policy issues

A number of policy issues are dealt with hereafter. In all instances a particular perspective is stated in order to expedite discussion of the subject. It does not necessarily follow that such views reflect the thinking of the IEC. The list of issues presented in this document is also not exhaustive. It is intended to get the debate under way and to provide a forum for political parties to then put such other topics on the table as they may see fit. These will be dealt with at a later stage and in an appropriate forum.

The pros and cons of the policy issues mentioned is further elucidated by the enclosed annexure.

2.1 The franchise

2.1.1 Permanent residents

Permanent residents should not vote. The constitutional right to vote extends only to citizens. Section 19(3)(a) of the Constitution states that "every adult citizen has the right to vote in elections for any legislative body established in terms of the constitution ...". If the right to vote is **extended** to permanent residents in, for example, local elections only, the additionally burdens and expense of administering a common voters' roll will be significantly increased. By 1999, permanent residents who were able to vote in 1994 will all qualify to apply for citizenship and will thus not be disenfranchised.

2.1.2 Those not eligible to vote

No person who has been certified as mentally disordered should vote. No other category of persons should be excluded from the franchise.

2.2 Registration of political parties

There should be two distinct types of registration. The first, general registration of political parties, would be aimed at the protection of party symbols, participation in party liaison committees, etc. -- i.e., it would deal with the rights and protection of political parties. The second type of registration would be for participation in a specific election and should include registration of political parties for a specific election or set

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
20 JUNE 1998**

SATURDAY, 20 JUNE 1998

08h00 – 09h00	Minutes and NWC Report
09h00 – 10h00	Treasurer General's report
10h00 – 10h30	TEA
10h30 – 12h30	Elections
12h30 – 13h30	LUNCH
13h30 – 15h30	Provinces Meet
15h30 – 16h00	TEA
16h30 – 18h00	Reports
18h00 – 19h00	Way Forward

Opposition

Main conclusion is that the opposition is in disarray with many moves towards forming alliances. Key attacks are well known and uniform strategies must be developed to deal with attacks.

Legislatures

Need an assessment of how we have performed and what are our weaknesses. Such an assessment should inform the current list process.

Our biggest resource is our 252 MPs, 266 MPLs, about 3000 councillors. Need to harness this resource strategically for the campaign especially during recess. The Secretary General and Provincial Secretaries together with Organisers must drive deployment.

3. Targets

At national level, targeting took the form of dividing the country into 5 safe provinces where ANC is in control and the main challenge is turning around negative mood, mobilisation and getting out the vote. There are 2 marginal provinces - Gauteng and N. Cape where the challenge is to keep the majority and identify key target groups for maximum increases; and two provinces where we are in opposition, KwaZulu/Natal and the W. Cape, and extra attention is required in the development of strategy.

While there must be a national strategy and message, each of the above categories of provinces need to do their own targeting and set specific objectives within the national strategy.

The workshop discussed the specific challenges in each province. Each province will have their own strategy workshop in July/August.

4. Message

An important part of our strategy is our message and communication strategy. This workshop agreed on what our message should convey:

- That we are still committed to working for a better life for all - moving in right direction
- Show what we have done towards building a better life
- Acknowledge what we have not done and that we can do more especially around key issues. Must be able to specify plans. E.g. Improve delivery of jobs and housing, take tough action on crime and corruption.

2.15.1 One or more voting districts

A ward will be made up of one or more voting districts. Provision for this may not be necessary in electoral legislation, however, depending on the content of the local government legislation (i.e. whether there is provision for ward candidates).

2.15.2 Criteria

The criteria for delimiting wards should take account of the following:

- the number of eligible voters
- topographical features
- geographical size
- municipal and provincial boundaries
- such other factors as may be appropriate

2.16 Election officers

The IEC should ensure the independence and effectiveness of election officers in order that they may contribute to the conduct of free and fair elections by

- 2.16.1 making provision for payment for the rendering of services by election officers;
- 2.16.2 making provision for the training of election officers;
- 2.16.3 making provision for the establishment of a Code of Conduct for election officers to include a declaration of independence and a declaration of secrecy; and
- 2.16.4 making provision for the discipline of election officers.

2.17 Labour disputes

Labour legislation should not apply to election officers during an election period. The IEC must be able summarily to dismiss an election officer and impose administrative penalties. Further, any disputes arising from action taken during an election period should be eligible for resolution only after the end of the election period and should be resolved by arbitration on substantive grounds. The IEC's mandate to manage free and fair elections requires these limitations, which are necessary in an election period because of the time constraints under which the IEC must do its work.

DISCUSSION PAPER: A NEW ELECTORAL ACT

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

This document is intended to promote an awareness among political parties of *inter alia*:

- the need for a new Electoral Act
- the timeframe within which such an Act will have to be dealt with and passed by Parliament
- the need for identifying policy issues and the stimulation of debate of such issues within political structures
- the resolution of policy issues in order that relevant matters can be dealt with in an Electoral Bill to be submitted to Parliament to be handled in terms of its procedures

1.2 The need for a new Electoral Act

The need for a new Electoral Act stems from these factors:

- The Electoral Act, 1993, was specifically aimed at the conduct of the 1994 elections with their very special circumstances. Subsequent amendments do not meet the needs of the 1999 elections.
- A common voters' roll now governs all elections. Further, a single agency now manages all elections and all elections have the voting district as a common denominator -- i.e., all elections have the same basic administrative structure. This integrated approach necessitates a single Electoral Act governing all elections, albeit sometimes with separate and different provisions for elections at specific levels.
- From voter education, party political participation and staff training viewpoints, it is highly desirable to have a single Act with as little deviation in procedures as possible. Not only does this promote efficiency; it also limits costs.

1.3 Timeframes

An annexure indicating timeframes is attached. Of particular importance is the following:

- Delimitation needs to start in February 1998, albeit initially only as an administrative exercise in view of the fact that a new Electoral Act must still be drafted and passed.
- Registration of voters cannot commence until the process is legally regulated.
- Voter education and training of party agents with regard to registration cannot commence until the registration process has been prescribed.

- A special machine [Zip-Zip] will be available in each voting district – it can read the bar code in your ID book and automatically records the correct information about your name and ID number for the voters roll.
- The machine also prints a sticker that will be pasted in your ID book to show that you have registered at that voting station.

Tasks for the ANC

There are three crucial tasks for the ANC at local level

1. ID drive:

Campaign to get green IDs for all who do not have them in time for registration. Focus on youth and people who have old TBVC documents.

2. Set up local party liaison committees:

These committees will deal with voting district borders, identification of voting stations and all other election administration issues. The IEC is sending maps to the 500 local authorities that will do registration so that they can ratify or change the voting district borders. Join the local Party Liaison Committee and make sure that the borders of the voting districts are fair. They are being decided now and will also be used to build wards from in local elections. Provinces should find out where Party Liaison Committees are being set up – all local authorities will not be used for voter registration and we must make sure that our structures are represented where liaison committees exist

3. Mobilisation for registration:

Do voter outreach work to build enthusiasm for the elections and to stay in touch with our constituency. Educate, inform and organise our supporters to register. Set up registration teams in each voting district who will reach voters, mobilise people to get to registration points on the 12 days they are open, monitor progress and make complaints about irregularities. Each branch should know how many voting districts they have to deal with and they must have a team in each district.

capacity to challenge the ANC for its dominant position. But, as research indicates, each could assist in whittling away our majority.

STATE OF ORGANISATION

At National Conference the state of our organisation was identified as a central determinant of whether or not we would be able to carry through our historic responsibility. This point is borne out by research and everyday experience.

On the positive side:

- the ANC's vision and programme continues to find resonance among the people;
- the organisation stands alone among political parties in its capacity to involve its structures and members in the development of policy, programmes and election of leadership;
- the ANC is a truly national organisation, with support to be found in almost every part of the country and among a broad cross-section of South Africa's people;
- the organisation has capable leadership at all levels of the organisation, and a large mass of experienced cadres.

There are numerous areas, however, which require urgent and concentrated attention. These include the:

- poor state of many of our branches, which are generally small, inactive and ineffective;
- lack of a political programme around recruitment and renewal of membership, and its effect on the overall membership figures and human resource pool;
- lack of consistent cadre development programmes at all levels of the movement, but particularly at branch level;
- poor communication within the organisation, and insufficient dynamic interaction among the structures of the movement, the Alliance and the MDM;
- the virtual replacement of political programmes with internal power struggles for positions within the organisation and government;
- poor relations and inadequate coordination between ANC constitutional structures and comrades deployed in government, often manifesting itself in open conflict.

Each province, region and branch have problems which are specific to them. However, what has been described above is true of most areas of the organisation.

BROAD TASKS IN PREPARATION FOR ELECTIONS

The ANC cannot successfully contest elections in this condition. Unless, as a starting point, we address these problems within the organisation, we will not achieve any majority in the 1999 election – never mind an overwhelming majority.

Therefore, some of the broad tasks on which we need to embark from this point include:

Building the organisation

Appendices

Opening address by Kgalema Motlanthe

Training programme for elections

Voter registration

Discussion document on the Electoral Act

Overheads on guidelines for structures

Suggested task teams:

Provincial :

- Training and mobilisation/events
- Media, briefing and communication
- Fundraising
- Legal support and monitoring

Main responsibilities : strategy development, budgets and plans, monitoring deployment of MPs, MPLs and PEC

Regional

REC + MP/MPL + staff

No teams

Geographic deployment

Main task : To service branches and coordinate activities

Branch (under BEC, include Leagues, Alliance and MDM)

- Canvassing and registration
- Media distribution
- Events and outreach
- Fundraising

Main responsibility : implement plans, reach voters

TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR ELECTIONS: 1998

1. PROVINCIAL STRATEGY WORKSHOPS

Immediately after the national strategy workshop, each province should set a date for a one day provincial strategy workshop – not later than the end of August. The workshop should be held over one day and should involve the PEC with Regional representation, Leagues and Alliance, NEC deployees, MPs and MPLs and members of the Provincial Election Team. National will contribute R10 000 to the cost of these workshops for each province. Provinces should assess the need for a separate workshop or add on a day to provincial conferences.

Programmes should be sent to national for approval and advice and at least one person from the National Elections Management Team should attend.

2. SPECIALISTS

MANAGEMENT:

For all provincial election co-ordinators to discuss their management responsibilities, systems and procedures. To take place in mid-July.

LEGAL:

As soon as the Electoral Act and the voter registration regulations are finalised, a national workshop will be held for 4 legal specialists per province to enable them to act as support for the Provincial Elections Team.

FINANCIAL:

In July a national workshop will be held for the elections bookkeeper and provincial treasurer to learn the financial and budgeting systems that will be used for elections.

COMMUNICATIONS:

In August a national workshop will be held for key communicators in the ANC. The elections and provincial media person from each province will attend. The focus will be on the message and communication strategy.

3. VOTER REGISTRATION

TRAINING OF REGIONAL ADMINISTRATORS AND ORGANISERS

At the end of July all provincial and regional organisers and administrators will attend a national workshop to discuss and develop the organising strategy at branch level for voter registration and outreach work. This

election being set aside by a court, in which case the President proclaims such provincial election. This section also provides that any election must be held within ninety days of the proclamation. Again, the Act should provide that a provincial election may be proclaimed at any time prior to the dissolution of a provincial legislature or at the latest on the day it is dissolved, and that an election may not be held sooner than, say, 75 days after proclamation.

Municipal elections: Municipal elections are independent of one another and will not necessarily be held simultaneously. The Constitution does not make provision for the proclamation of municipal elections. A municipal election should not be held less than a minimum number or more than a maximum number of days after the election is proclaimed. The same kind of link between the dissolution of a council and the proclamation of an election as applies at other levels of government should be created. The minimum and maximum number of days must be calculated on the basis *inter alia* of the administrative capacity of the Commission and included into the Act.

2.4.3 Proclamation of municipal elections by the Minister responsible

The Minister responsible for local government should proclaim a municipal election and municipal by-elections after consultation with the IEC.

2.5 Voting days and hours

2.5.1 One day

There should be a single day for voting. The conduct of elections will be significantly complicated if more than one day is generally allowed for voting. Because of the relatively small size of voting districts, it will be practicable to provide every eligible voter with the opportunity to vote in a single day.

2.5.2 07:00 - 21:00

Voting hours should be from 07:00 until 21:00.

If a person entitled to vote at a specific voting station is within the perimeter of that voting station at 21:00, that person must be allowed to vote.

2.5.3 Commission can extend voting period

Any extension of the voting days or hours at a particular voting station should be by the IEC and at its discretion and should occur only in exceptional circumstances and in order to ensure free and fair elections. This

2.8.3 A voter may vote only in the voting district in which he or she is registered

A person may vote at a voting station only if his or her name appears on the segment of the voters' roll for that voting district.

This formulation would require a voter to vote in the voting district in which he or she is registered, thereby prohibiting that person from voting in any other voting district. This requirement of voting where registered is necessitated to prevent possible double voting and by the administrative burdens and expense of the alternative, which would involve forwarding votes contained in sealed envelopes to the appropriate voting districts. In such circumstances it would not be possible to declare a result within the constitutionally prescribed seven days.

2.9 **Tendered ballots**

Tendered ballots (which are of a different colour from ordinary ballots), could be used in case of a dispute about a persons right to vote. They would not be initially counted but could be taken into consideration should the dispute be resolved.

2.10 **Special voting**

2.10.1 The Commission should have the authority to provide where practicable for the following categories of special voters:

- 2.10.1.1 the physically infirm, the sick, the physically disabled and the pregnant who consequently cannot get to a voting station;
- 2.10.1.2 those serving in the election (e.g. election officers and security services personnel); and
- 2.10.1.3 diplomatic personnel abroad

The IEC should be given the authority to provide for special voting in the categories listed if and when requested to do so. However, if it is impracticable so to provide, the Commission should not be constrained to commit resources to special voting if this would mean that the conduct of free and fair general voting would be compromised.

2.10.2 No special voting in municipal elections

The administrative burden involved in providing for special voting in municipal elections would be prohibitive. There was no provision for special voting in the 1995/96 community elections either.

SUMMARY FROM COMMISSIONS

There were five commissions divided according to a strategic perspective on provincial dynamics. The provinces where the ANC is strong were in one commission: Eastern Cape, Northern Province, North West, Mpumalanga and Free State; the provinces where the ANC is weak were in two commissions based on the different factors that would define strategy: Western Cape and KwaZulu/Natal; and the provinces where the ANC has a marginal majority were divided into two commissions: Northern Cape and Gauteng, which, although both marginal, are dealing with significantly different problems.

All commissions discussed a national strategy in the context of provincial specifics. They looked at the following questions:

- our goal and objectives;
- provincial target groups and challenges;
- issues confronting the ANC;
- organisational weaknesses;
- use of leadership;
- voter registration;
- tactical alliances;
- opposition;
- list process;
- message.

General points

The goal is to consolidate our 1994 figure and target new votes which implies a high turnout as well as win all nine provinces. Targets therefore include: consolidating our base support, targeting rural voters (particularly in KZN), young voters who have never voted before, minorities, young African men and older African women. Challenges include traditional leaders, civil servants and undecided voters. Critical issues include retrenchments and downsizing of the civil service (the vast majority of employed people in the Northern Province are employed by the civil service). In addition, security and bad roads in former bantustan areas must be dealt with for effective campaigning and for election day itself. Tactical alliances in the safe provinces are a burden to the organisation. In other provinces, they need to be looked at, for example, the MF in KZN. Mechanisms must be developed to close gaps in our organisation which can be exploited by the opposition. The main opponent in KZN is the IFP and there are a number of problems around irregularities on voting day. In the Northern Cape, the main opposition is the NP. In Gauteng, an opposition

ISSUES FOR NEC DISCUSSION, APPROVAL and DECISIONS

1. Approval on broad strategy. This includes:
 - Goal
 - Key challenges
 - National targets: specific challenges relating to the 5 safe provinces, 2 marginal provinces, and 2 provinces where the ANC is in opposition.
 - Message themes for this phase
 - Mobilisation strategy
 - Election structures
2. Agreement on tasks for this phase. This includes tasks for each level of organisation (p10) as well as the listening campaign which involves ten forums per province to begin in July with uniform programmes and speaker's notes.
3. Political issues:
 - tactical alliances: tactical or strategic alliances may be necessary for election purposes in marginal and weak provinces. This may include broader MDM organisations or smaller political parties. The NEC should initiate a discussion paper to guide provinces.
4. Decision on dissemination and analysis of ANC research results:
 - Brief constitutional structures and workshops verbally for discussion on strategy development;
 - Hand out documents with results to constitutional structures of the organisation and have discussions;
 - Other options?

SUMMARY OF INPUT BY KGALEMA MOTLANTHE

Elections and transformation

The successful contestation of elections is a key vehicle through which the ANC pursues its goal of transformation through legislation, directing the country's resources to meet the majority's needs, transforming the state and contributing to local economic development.

Current political environment

The current political environment is very different from 1994. There are many positive and negative features. Some positives include: a democratic constitutional dispensation, relative political stability and peace, shifting government priorities and resources, the dominance of the ANC as a force for change. These must be balanced against: a largely untransformed public service, pockets of resistance to change, an economy that remains in the hands of a few, unemployment and poverty, a hostile media.

State of organisation

This is a central determinant of whether or not we carry through our historic responsibility. Some positives include: our vision and programme continues to find resonance among the people, our capacity to involve our structures and members in the development of policy, programmes and the election of leadership, the ANC is a truly national organisation, the organisation has capable leaders at all levels.

There are areas that require urgent attention: poor state of branches, lack of political programme around recruitment and renewal of membership, lack of consistent cadre development programmes, poor communication within the organisation, internal power struggles for positions, inadequate communication between constitutional structures and comrades deployed in government.

Broad tasks in preparation for elections

- Building the organisation through clear political programmes of action, recruitment, renewal and servicing of ANC membership, cadre development, improving internal communication.
- Communicating effectively with the masses through interaction and listening, clear and unambiguous messages about our programme and policies and developing our communication capacity at all levels.
- Strengthening links between the ANC and government through effective mechanisms of report back and accountability, resolving conflicts and tensions and through greater responsibility among constitutional structures for the work of governance including the establishing and functioning of governance committees.

INTRODUCTION

The National Election Strategy Workshop took place on 6 - 7 June 1998 and included provincial representation of the ANC, ANCYL, ANCWL, SACP and COSATU; national representation from the ANC NWC and NEC election sub-committee, SACP, COSATU, SANCO, ANCYL and ANCWL as well as Head Office departments.

The aims of the strategy workshop included:

- To place the campaign within the current organisational and political context;
- To share research results and an analysis of the environment in which we are operating;
- To develop a broad strategy for the campaign in terms of targets, message and mobilisation;
- To identify key tasks for this phase.

The programme for the workshop included:

- An input by the secretary general on the state of the organisation;
- An input on developing a campaign strategy including research results and tasks;
- provincial commissions;
- commission reports and discussions;
- adoption of programme of work;
- concluding comments by the national chairperson

Experience has shown that moving ballots to a separate counting station adds enormous administrative and security burdens and expense to the conduct of elections.

2.13 Declaration of results

2.13.1 Unofficial count results to be announced at the counting station

Immediately after the result of the count is determined, it should be announced by the counting officer at the counting station that he or she is assigned to. Votes would thereafter be aggregated at ward, municipal, provincial or national level, as the case might be.

2.13.2 Official declaration of results only by the Commission

However, the Commission must declare the official results of each election (for each voting district, Ward Municipality etc.) in accordance with its constitutional mandate.

2.14 Delimitation of voting districts

2.14.1 One voting station per district (with the exception of mobile voting stations and special voting)

A voting district is an election administration unit made up of a limited number of voters. There will be only one voting station for each voting district, with exceptions for mobile voting stations and special voting.

2.14.2 Criteria

The criteria for delimiting voting districts should take account of the following:

- the number of eligible voters
- topographical features
- geographical size
- the availability of transport
- municipal and provincial boundaries

2.15 Delimitation of wards

TASKS

For the immediate period a work programme was adopted which fits in with our strategy.

This includes the following tasks at each level.

1. BRANCHES

- Set up election structures - BEC plus allies
- ID drive - target first time voters and older voters
- Voter registration campaign - target ANC voters. Check that local party liaison committees are set up at local council level.
- Reporting to the people -listening campaign - media distribution, events and door to door
- Attend training - August 5 per BEC
September - voter registration training 1 + 4 MDM
- Nominations for list and attend list conference

REACH VOTERS

2. REGIONS

- Set up structure- REC + staff + deployees and deploy geographically
- Contact branches regularly
- Coordinate branch visits, media distribution and reports
- Assist with organising delegates to training

SERVICE AND CO-ORDINATE BRANCHES

3. PROVINCES

- Set up structure - Management team and task teams, involve all
- Hold strategy workshop
- Develop budgets and plans based on strategy
- Set up list committees to implement process
- Reporting to the people listening campaign - big events, deployment, use of Premier, issues
- ID and voter registration campaign - plans, coordination, monitoring
- Deploy MPs/MPLs and PEC to regions
- Appoint reps for party liaison committee and monitor election administration

coalition poses the most serious threat. Look more closely at the possibilities of organisations siphoning away disaffected ANC support.

Recommendations from the commissions

- Draft guidelines for people holding office
- Develop an effective strategy for deployment to improve the visibility of leadership in targeted areas, on specific issues and in smaller forums and door-to-door work rather than rallies
- Audit of progress in terms of delivery and transformation
- Rotate PEC meetings across regions
- Leadership should reflect the demography of our country
- Message must be positive, inclusive and simple. In provinces where we are in opposition, we must capture the fact that we are not yet in power and what the benefits of an ANC victory are. In marginal provinces, the message should also capture the possibility of a return to the past. Message is not simply words, but actions as well and through action need to address the question of distance.
- A special research programme must be designed for KwaZulu/Natal
- The appointment of provincial CEOs must be looked at by National, particularly in KZN
- Voter education should target areas and individuals who will vote ANC
- In provinces, have cabinet meets the people days in different regions
- Use of radio especially community radio
- Elections should feature in June Alliance Summit
- Guidelines for fundraising
- MPs, MPLs, and councillors need to contribute to an election fund for paying volunteers.

discretion is necessary to comply with the IEC's mandate to ensure free and fair elections.

2.5.4 Declaration of a public holiday left to the discretion of the President

Whether a voting day is declared a public holiday should be left to the discretion of the President in terms of the Public Holidays Act (36 of 1994), rather than determined in electoral legislation.

2.6 **Mobile voting stations**

The IEC should have the authority to establish mobile voting stations

The IEC should have the authority to make provision by way of regulation for mobile voting stations and special voting stations, in which cases it may prescribe procedures different from normal procedures for preparing for elections, voting and counting. Mobile voting stations may be necessary in a number of contexts, e.g. where there are inadequate transport facilities in a geographically large voting district or in the case of special voting at a hospital. Accordingly, the IEC should have the authority to provide for mobile and special voting stations when this is deemed necessary for the conduct of free and fair elections.

2.7 **Election materials**

The Commission should have its discretion limited only by the requirement of ensuring the secrecy of voting and free and fair elections

The IEC should have the discretion to obtain and utilise materials for elections which in its view are practicable and do not infringe on either the secrecy of voting or the freeness and fairness of elections. This discretion is necessary to allow the IEC to use, for example, cardboard ballot boxes throughout or cardboard ballot boxes in some areas and metal in others. The IEC should have the discretion to utilise materials that are available, cost-effective and practicable for an election.

2.8 **Who may vote at a voting station**

2.8.1 Persons on the voters' roll

2.8.2 Persons in possession of identity documents in terms of the Identification Act (22 of 1986)

This excludes documents from the former TBVC countries, which documents are no longer accepted for, for instance, the payment of social pensions.

of elections and registration of ward candidates and independent candidates in municipal elections -- i.e., it would be akin to a nomination process.

2.3 Registration of voters

It is anticipated that registration will be a continuous exercise. A registered voter may change his or her registration at any time except during a period prescribed by the IEC, which will cover a certain number of days prior to an election and generally will be linked in some way to the date on which an election is proclaimed.

2.3.1 Registration where ordinarily resident

Each person who is eligible to vote in accordance with Chapter II of the Constitution may register in the voting district where he or she is ordinarily resident.

2.3.2 Registration in one voting district only

Each person may register in one voting district only.

Both these requirements are necessitated by the practical constraints involved in conducting national, provincial and municipal elections based on a single common voters' roll, as required by the Constitution.

2.4 Proclamation of elections

2.4.1 Proclamation after consultation with the Commission

Elections should be proclaimed only after consultation with the IEC. This requirement is intended to ensure the feasibility of holding an election at a particular point in time and is necessitated by the Commission's mandates to manage and ensure free and fair elections.

2.4.2 Proclamation not less than a stated minimum number of days prior to an election

National elections: According to section 49 of the Constitution, the President proclaims national elections which must be held within ninety days after the dissolution of Parliament. The Act should provide that a national election may be proclaimed at any time prior to the dissolution of Parliament or at the latest on the day parliament is dissolved, and that an election may not be held sooner than, say, 75 days after proclamation.

Provincial elections: Section 108 of the Constitution provides that the Premier in question proclaims a provincial election, except in the instance of an election result not being declared within the prescribed period or an

workshop will form the basis of the training and mobilisation that will follow. Regional staff will be expected to recruit the branch delegates and to help organise the workshops that follow. The workshop will also cover the ANC systems and reports that will be used for elections.

TRAINING OF TRAINERS

The first weekend in August should be used in all provinces to hold a one day workshop for 60 provincial trainers drawn from the Alliance and MDM who will be used in the voter registration workshops and mobilisation work that follows. Trainers should be drawn from PECs, RECs and MPs and MPLs, and existing training teams. Provinces must involve key MDM organisations. Provincial and national DPET and Elections trainers will be sent to each province to assist.

TRAINING OF BRANCHES

From mid- to end-August a one day workshop will be held in each region for 5 people per branch from the ANC to focus on registration and other election work. A total of 10 000 people will be targeted for training in different aspects of election work.

TRAINING OF ALLIANCE AND MDM ACTIVISTS

In September the branch person responsible for voter registration will return to a regional workshop together with people from other MDM and Alliance organisations to prepare for the final push for registration. Materials will be distributed at this workshop. 8 000 people will be targeted.

In each province three workshops will also be organised by ETU targeting:

- Shop stewards from Cosatu
- Activists from the education sector
- The religious sector

2.10.3 No voting stations in foreign countries or in prisons

Experience has shown that the administrative burdens and expense involved in providing voting stations in foreign countries and in prisons is excessive. The categories of persons who are abroad (with the exception of diplomatic personnel) or in prison are there either voluntarily or through voluntary conduct. That differentiates them from the categories of persons for whom special voting should be provided. The financial and administrative cost of foreign and prison voting is prohibitive and disproportionate to the number of voters catered for. It should be remembered that the phenomena of forced exile and political imprisonment, which featured in the 1994 elections, are no longer part of our society.

2.11 **Regulation of election activities**

- 2.11.1 No regulation of print media

The print media should not be specially regulated for elections. There appears to be no pressing need for such regulation. If the print media are regulated for elections, great care would need to be taken to ensure that the right of freedom of expression is not violated.

2.11.2 Regulation of broadcasting media and of broadcasting programmes and advertisements by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (or its successor)

The broadcasting media should be regulated by the Independent Broadcasting Authority ("IBA") (or its successor) in terms of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (or its successor). Broadcasting programming and advertising should also be regulated by the IBA in accordance with the IBA Act. See sections 58 to 61 of the IBA Act.

2.11.3 No regulation of opinion polls

There appears to be no compelling reason to regulate opinion polls.

2.11.4 Exit polls may not be published prior to the declaration of an election result

Publication of exit poll results prior to the official declaration of an election result should be prohibited. However, the conduct of exit polls should not be prohibited.

2.12 **Counting**

Counting generally to take place at the voting station

Counting should take place at the voting station, unless the IEC otherwise.

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SUMMARY OF INPUT BY KGALEMA MOTLANTHE

Elections and transformation

The successful contestation of elections is a key vehicle through which the ANC pursues its goal of transformation through legislation, directing the country's resources to meet the majority's needs, transforming the state and contributing to local economic development.

Current political environment

The current political environment is very different from 1994. There are many positive and negative features. Some positives include: a democratic constitutional dispensation, relative political stability and peace, shifting government priorities and resources, the dominance of the ANC as a force for change. These must be balanced against: a largely untransformed public service, pockets of resistance to change, an economy that remains in the hands of a few, unemployment and poverty, a hostile media.

State of organisation

This is a central determinant of whether or not we carry through our historic responsibility. Some positives include: our vision and programme continues to find resonance among the people, our capacity to involve our structures and members in the development of policy, programmes and the election of leadership, the ANC is a truly national organisation, the organisation has capable leaders at all levels.

There are areas that require urgent attention: poor state of branches, lack of political programme around recruitment and renewal of membership, lack of consistent cadre development programmes, poor communication within the organisation, internal power struggles for positions, inadequate communication between constitutional structures and comrades deployed in government.

Broad tasks in preparation for elections

- Building the organisation through clear political programmes of action, recruitment, renewal and servicing of ANC membership, cadre development, improving internal communication.
- Communicating effectively with the masses through interaction and listening, clear and unambiguous messages about our programme and policies and developing our communication capacity at all levels.
- Strengthening links between the ANC and government through effective mechanisms of report back and accountability, resolving conflicts and tensions and through greater responsibility among constitutional structures for the work of governance including the establishing and functioning of governance committees.

TASKS

For the immediate period a work programme was adopted which fits in with our strategy.

This includes the following tasks at each level.

1. BRANCHES

- Set up election structures - BEC plus allies
- ID drive - target first time voters and older voters
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workshop will form the basis of the training and mobilisation that will follow. Regional staff will be expected to recruit the branch delegates and to help organise the workshops that follow. The workshop will also cover the ANC systems and reports that will be used for elections.

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2.8.2 Persons in possession of identity documents in terms of the Identification Act (22 of 1986)

This excludes documents from the former TBVC countries, which documents are no longer accepted for, for instance, the payment of social pensions.

In building the organisation, we should concentrate on:

- reviving and building branches through clear political programmes of action;
- recruitment, renewal and proper servicing of ANC membership;
- mechanisms for cadre development, particularly at branch level;
- improving internal communication and interaction between and among ANC structures.

Communicating effectively with the masses

In order to re-build the ANC's link with its mass constituency, it is going to be important to:

- interact more dynamically with the people, listening more carefully to their concerns and suggestions;
- develop and communicate clear and unambiguous messages about the ANC's programme for reconstruction and development;
- articulate the policies of the movement and the government more effectively;
- develop our communications capacity at all levels.

Strengthening the links between the ANC and government

The work of the movement and comrades deployed in government need to be more effectively aligned and coordinated through, among other things:

- effective mechanisms of report-back and accountability;
- the resolution of conflict and tension where it exists;
- greater responsibility among constitutional structures for the work of governance, including the establishment and functioning of Governance Committees at national and provincial level.

ELECTION STRATEGY WORKSHOP

6-7 JUNE 1998

Notes for Opening Address

ELECTIONS AND TRANSFORMATION

The contestation of elections is one of the key vehicles through which the ANC pursues its goal of transformation.

The successful contestation of elections – with the achievement of an overwhelming majority – is necessary so that the ANC can:

- continue the process of transformation through legislation;
- direct the country's resources towards meeting the needs of the majority;
- transform the state to make it representative, accountable and able to serve the interests of the people;
- contribute through local government to local development and economic activity.

CURRENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The ANC is approaching elections within a very different political environment from when we last contested a national election.

Some of the positive features of the current environment include:

- the existence and application of a democratic constitutional dispensation, which not only guarantees basic rights and freedoms, but also compels government to play a transformative function;
- relative political stability and peace;
- substantial progress in shifting government priorities and resources towards meeting the needs of the majority;
- the continued dominance of the ANC as the primary force for change.

These positive features need to be weighed up against:

- a public service that despite some progress, is largely not transformed, nor adequately equipped to meet the demands expected of it;
- pockets of resistance to change within the security forces and other centres of power;
- an economy that still remains largely in a few, mostly white, hands;
- widespread unemployment and continuing poverty on a massive scale;
- a media which in general is antagonistic to the ANC and the process of transformation.

Among all the parties and organisations in the political spectrum, the ANC and its Alliance partners stand alone as the parties of democratic change. None of the other parties have the

- The ANC is the only organisation that is capable of making a better life a reality.
- Committed to participation of people in our programme of transformation - notion of partnerships.

Communication strategy

How we put our message across is as important as what we say. We need to use all available means of communication but focus on direct voter contact such as a People's forums as part of reporting to the people listening campaign. Need to make strategic use of our President - he must be seen to be at the forefront of our campaign for e.g. Being tough on crime.

5. Mobilisation

The key issue is to maximise turnout of our supporters.

Our slogan: ***Reach every voter three times***

Main tasks

- Reporting to people - listening campaign where each province must have ten forums where communities are reported to by ANC leadership on government progress as well as have the space to raise issues with that leadership.
- ID and voter registration campaign, voter education
- Media distribution and other ways of communicating message
- Getting out the vote

Mobilisation: Key internal issues

- Building the alliance - speak with one voice, reaching out to MDM
- Election structures that are simple with one line of command
- Fundraising and Budgeting - reflect strategy
- Internal communication - two way flow

Election structures

At provincial, regional and branch level -one election team which includes all the officials from executive, team leaders, Leagues, Alliance, MDM and staff where exist. Integrate any deployees from other levels of the structure. Team Leaders form a management team for day to day implementation. Constitutional structures to drive the process.

Many further examples can be provided, all of which add up to one fundamental dilemma: Parliament is not a rubber stamp whose function is merely to regulate/condone such steps as the IEC has already taken and arrangements it has already made. At the same time, the IEC would have had no chance of delivering elections in 1999 if it had had to await electoral legislation before starting to prepare for those elections. It is imperative that this dilemma be resolved within the next few months, by the passage of a new Electoral Act.

2. Policy issues

A number of policy issues are dealt with hereafter. In all instances a particular perspective is stated in order to expedite discussion of the subject. It does not necessarily follow that such views reflect the thinking of the IEC. The list of issues presented in this document is also not exhaustive. It is intended to get the debate under way and to provide a forum for political parties to then put such other topics on the table as they may see fit. These will be dealt with at a later stage and in an appropriate forum.

The pros and cons of the policy issues mentioned is further elucidated by the enclosed annexure.

2.1 The franchise

2.1.1 Permanent residents

Permanent residents should not vote. The constitutional right to vote extends only to citizens. Section 19(3)(a) of the Constitution states that "every adult citizen has the right to vote in elections for any legislative body established in terms of the constitution ...". If the right to vote is **extended** to permanent residents in, for example, local elections only, the additional burdens and expense of administering a common voters' roll will be significantly increased. By 1999, permanent residents who were able to vote in 1994 will all qualify to apply for citizenship and will thus not be disenfranchised.

2.1.2 Those not eligible to vote

No person who has been certified as mentally disordered should vote. No other category of persons should be excluded from the franchise.

2.2 Registration of political parties

There should be two distinct types of registration. The first, general registration of political parties, would be aimed at the protection of party symbols, participation in party liaison committees, etc. -- i.e., it would deal with the rights and protection of political parties. The second type of registration would be for participation in a specific election and should include registration of political parties for a specific election or set

VOTER REGISTRATION

All voters will have to register at their nearest voting station during October 1998 to January 1999. This will require a massive mobilisation effort from the ANC.

There will be about 12 000 voting stations and each will cover an area called a voting district. All voters in that district have to get on the roll for that voting station to be able to vote on election day.

If we fail to register the 12 million people who voted for us in 1994, we will lose many votes long before the election. To get all voters to go and stand in a queue to register will take a huge amount of motivation and organisation – it is almost the same as an election day effort.

Voting districts will be small – 500 to 3000 voters, depending on the population density in the area. The same voting districts will later be used to build wards for local elections. This can only happen after the new boundaries are decided for local governments. For example if you have 20 voting districts in your area, and it is later decided that you will have 5 wards for local elections, 4 voting districts will be combined to form a ward.

About 500 registration officers are now being appointed by the IEC and will be responsible for coordinating voter registration. Most of these officers are attached to local government. All local councils will not be used for registration since some of them do not have the necessary capacity. Bigger councils will take care of the surrounding areas.

Where can you register?

In each voting district an existing office will be used to coordinate the work. At least one full time person will be there during office hours.

On 12 days during the registration period, the voting station will open and the public will be notified to come and register. On any other days, people can go to the office to register. If registration is low, the registration officer can also use door to door or other methods to reach people.

How do you register?

- You need a green ID book [issued after 1986]
- Go to the voting station or office and fill in a form to show that you live in the area

GUIDELINES FOR STRUCTURES

- **One decision-making structure that includes officials from exec and key election team leaders, as well as Leagues, Alliance and MDM. Integrate any deployees from other levels in structure.**
- **Teams formed according to tasks and targets - recruit volunteers from ANC, Alliance, MDM**
- **Team leaders meet regularly as a management team to plan implementation**

Suggested Task Teams:

Provincial:

- 1. Training and mobilisation/events**
- 2. Media, briefing + communication**
- 3. Fundraising**
- 4. Legal support and monitoring**

Regional:

**REC + MPL/MP + staff -
no teams, geographic deployment**

Branch (under BEC)

- 1. Canvassing and registration**
- 2. Media distribution**
- 3. Events + outreach**
- 4. Fundraising**

African National Congress

6—7 JUNE 1998

National Elections Strategy Workshop

CONFIDENTIAL

Report



SUMMARY OF INPUT AND DISCUSSIONS ON ELECTION STRATEGY

This input covered the following areas:

- Setting goals
- Understanding and analysing the environment: voters, issues, ANC and Alliance/MDM, oppositions and legislatures
- Targeting voters: nationally and provincially
- Developing a message, communication strategy and manifesto
- Agree on a mobilisation strategy: approach, registration, education, motivation and election day; structures, budgets, internal communications, list process

1. Goal

It was agreed that we should be aiming for an overwhelming majority in the elections and to be the majority party in all nine provinces. In order to achieve our goal we need to :

- Consolidate our strong voters who intend to vote;
- Improve turnout of weak supporters i.e. those who will vote ANC if they do vote
- Convert weak undecided voters to vote ANC

It was noted that we must maximise turnout of our voters so that our victory is legitimate.

2. Analysis of the environment

This involved an analysis of :

- voters - demography, support , attitudes
- parties - ourselves (ANC and ANC with the Alliance and MDM), opposition parties
- political system - legislatures

Key points that came out of this analysis include:

Voters

There are about 22 million people of voting age., 48 % male and 52 % female. Of these, 16.8 m are African, 3.4 m whites, 1.5 m coloured and 0.5 m Indians. About 55% are in urban areas and 45% in rural areas. The provincial breakdown indicates that 40% of voters live in Gauteng and Kwazulu/Natal with 10% in the W. Cape. These figures indicate broadly our targets.

In terms of support, the ANC is still the dominant party with about 54% of the national vote. This is way below our 1994 result. Furthermore, there is a growing upward trend of detached voters who are undecided about who they will vote for - about 14%. These voters are pulling away from the ANC and are found mainly among young African men and older African women.

Mood amongst African voters is divided about the ANC and government performance in general. The main issues around which African voters are negative are:

- jobs
- poverty relating to price of food
- crime
- waste and corruption
- the ANC is distant and not there to explain lack of progress.

On the positive side, we are getting better ratings on:

- access to community services,
- water and electricity and
- health services.

From research on voter attitudes, key challenges for us are to show that:

- We are working to keep our promises
- Return the ANC to the people - listening campaign
- Acknowledge our lack of progress
- Justify expectations that the ANC is the only organisation that can bring a better life
- Build a united South Africa under the ANC

- A special machine [Zip-Zip] will be available in each voting district – it can read the bar code in your ID book and automatically records the correct information about your name and ID number for the voters roll.
- The machine also prints a sticker that will be pasted in your ID book to show that you have registered at that voting station.

Tasks for the ANC

There are three crucial tasks for the ANC at local level

1. ID drive:

Campaign to get green IDs for all who do not have them in time for registration. Focus on youth and people who have old TBVC documents.

2. Set up local party liaison committees:

These committees will deal with voting district borders, identification of voting stations and all other election administration issues. The IEC is sending maps to the 500 local authorities that will do registration so that they can ratify or change the voting district borders. Join the local Party Liaison Committee and make sure that the borders of the voting districts are fair. They are being decided now and will also be used to build wards from in local elections. Provinces should find out where Party Liaison Committees are being set up – all local authorities will not be used for voter registration and we must make sure that our structures are represented where liaison committees exist

3. Mobilisation for registration:

Do voter outreach work to build enthusiasm for the elections and to stay in touch with our constituency. Educate, inform and organise our supporters to register. Set up registration teams in each voting district who will reach voters, mobilise people to get to registration points on the 12 days they are open, monitor progress and make complaints about irregularities. Each branch should know how many voting districts they have to deal with and they must have a team in each district.

DISCUSSION PAPER: A NEW ELECTORAL ACT

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

This document is intended to promote an awareness among political parties of *inter alia*:

- the need for a new Electoral Act
- the timeframe within which such an Act will have to be dealt with and passed by Parliament
- the need for identifying policy issues and the stimulation of debate of such issues within political structures
- the resolution of policy issues in order that relevant matters can be dealt with in an Electoral Bill to be submitted to Parliament to be handled in terms of its procedures

1.2 The need for a new Electoral Act

The need for a new Electoral Act stems from these factors:

- The Electoral Act, 1993, was specifically aimed at the conduct of the 1994 elections with their very special circumstances. Subsequent amendments do not meet the needs of the 1999 elections.
- A common voters' roll now governs all elections. Further, a single agency now manages all elections and all elections have the voting district as a common denominator -- i.e., all elections have the same basic administrative structure. This integrated approach necessitates a single Electoral Act governing all elections, albeit sometimes with separate and different provisions for elections at specific levels.
- From voter education, party political participation and staff training viewpoints, it is highly desirable to have a single Act with as little deviation in procedures as possible. Not only does this promote efficiency; it also limits costs.

1.3 Timeframes

An annexure indicating timeframes is attached. Of particular importance is the following:

- Delimitation needs to start in February 1998, albeit initially only as an administrative exercise in view of the fact that a new Electoral Act must still be drafted and passed.
- Registration of voters cannot commence until the process is legally regulated.
- Voter education and training of party agents with regard to registration cannot commence until the registration process has been prescribed.

Suggested task teams:

Provincial :

- Training and mobilisation/events
- Media, briefing and communication
- Fundraising
- Legal support and monitoring

Main responsibilities : strategy development, budgets and plans, monitoring deployment of MPs, MPLs and PEC

Regional

REC + MP/MPL + staff

No teams

Geographic deployment

Main task : To service branches and coordinate activities

Branch (under BEC, include Leagues, Alliance and MDM)

- Canvassing and registration
- Media distribution
- Events and outreach
- Fundraising

Main responsibility : implement plans, reach voters

Appendices

Opening address by Kgalema Motlanthe

Training programme for elections

Voter registration

Discussion document on the Electoral Act

Overheads on guidelines for structures

capacity to challenge the ANC for its dominant position. But, as research indicates, each could assist in whittling away our majority.

STATE OF ORGANISATION

At National Conference the state of our organisation was identified as a central determinant of whether or not we would be able to carry through our historic responsibility. This point is borne out by research and everyday experience.

On the positive side:

- the ANC's vision and programme continues to find resonance among the people;
- the organisation stands alone among political parties in its capacity to involve its structures and members in the development of policy, programmes and election of leadership;
- the ANC is a truly national organisation, with support to be found in almost every part of the country and among a broad cross-section of South Africa's people;
- the organisation has capable leadership at all levels of the organisation, and a large mass of experienced cadres.

There are numerous areas, however, which require urgent and concentrated attention. These include the:

- poor state of many of our branches, which are generally small, inactive and ineffective;
- lack of a political programme around recruitment and renewal of membership, and its effect on the overall membership figures and human resource pool;
- lack of consistent cadre development programmes at all levels of the movement, but particularly at branch level;
- poor communication within the organisation, and insufficient dynamic interaction among the structures of the movement, the Alliance and the MDM;
- the virtual replacement of political programmes with internal power struggles for positions within the organisation and government;
- poor relations and inadequate coordination between ANC constitutional structures and comrades deployed in government, often manifesting itself in open conflict.

Each province, region and branch have problems which are specific to them. However, what has been described above is true of most areas of the organisation.

BROAD TASKS IN PREPARATION FOR ELECTIONS

The ANC cannot successfully contest elections in this condition. Unless, as a starting point, we address these problems within the organisation, we will not achieve any majority in the 1999 election – never mind an overwhelming majority.

Therefore, some of the broad tasks on which we need to embark from this point include:

Building the organisation

Opposition

Main conclusion is that the opposition is in disarray with many moves towards forming alliances. Key attacks are well known and uniform strategies must be developed to deal with attacks.

Legislatures

Need an assessment of how we have performed and what are our weaknesses. Such an assessment should inform the current list process.

Our biggest resource is our 252 MPs, 266 MPLs, about 3000 councillors. Need to harness this resource strategically for the campaign especially during recess. The Secretary General and Provincial Secretaries together with Organisers must drive deployment.

3. Targets

At national level, targeting took the form of dividing the country into 5 safe provinces where ANC is in control and the main challenge is turning around negative mood, mobilisation and getting out the vote. There are 2 marginal provinces - Gauteng and N. Cape where the challenge is to keep the majority and identify key target groups for maximum increases; and two provinces where we are in opposition, KwaZulu/Natal and the W. Cape, and extra attention is required in the development of strategy.

While there must be a national strategy and message, each of the above categories of provinces need to do their own targeting and set specific objectives within the national strategy.

The workshop discussed the specific challenges in each province. Each province will have their own strategy workshop in July/August.

4. Message

An important part of our strategy is our message and communication strategy. This workshop agreed on what our message should convey:

- That we are still committed to working for a better life for all - moving in right direction
- Show what we have done towards building a better life
- Acknowledge what we have not done and that we can do more especially around key issues. Must be able to specify plans. E.g. Improve delivery of jobs and housing, take tough action on crime and corruption.

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
20 JUNE 1998**

SATURDAY, 20 JUNE 1998

08h00 – 09h00	Minutes and NWC Report
09h00 – 10h00	Treasurer General's report
10h00 – 10h30	TEA
10h30 – 12h30	Elections
12h30 – 13h30	LUNCH
13h30 – 15h30	Provinces Meet
15h30 – 16h00	TEA
16h30 – 18h00	Reports
18h00 – 19h00	Way Forward

2.15.1 One or more voting districts

A ward will be made up of one or more voting districts. Provision for this may not be necessary in electoral legislation, however, depending on the content of the local government legislation (i.e. whether there is provision for ward candidates).

2.15.2 Criteria

The criteria for delimiting wards should take account of the following:

- the number of eligible voters
- topographical features
- geographical size
- municipal and provincial boundaries
- such other factors as may be appropriate

2.16 Election officers

The IEC should ensure the independence and effectiveness of election officers in order that they may contribute to the conduct of free and fair elections by

- 2.16.1 making provision for payment for the rendering of services by election officers;
- 2.16.2 making provision for the training of election officers;
- 2.16.3 making provision for the establishment of a Code of Conduct for election officers to include a declaration of independence and a declaration of secrecy; and
- 2.16.4 making provision for the discipline of election officers.

2.17 Labour disputes

Labour legislation should not apply to election officers during an election period. The IEC must be able summarily to dismiss an election officer and impose administrative penalties. Further, any disputes arising from action taken during an election period should be eligible for resolution only after the end of the election period and should be resolved by arbitration on substantive grounds. The IEC's mandate to manage free and fair elections requires these limitations, which are necessary in an election period because of the time constraints under which the IEC must do its work.

INTRODUCTION

The National Election Strategy Workshop took place on 6 - 7 June 1998 and included provincial representation of the ANC, ANCYL, ANCWL, SACP and COSATU; national representation from the ANC NWC and NEC election sub-committee, SACP, COSATU, SANCO, ANCYL and ANCWL as well as Head Office departments.

The aims of the strategy workshop included:

- To place the campaign within the current organisational and political context;
- To share research results and an analysis of the environment in which we are operating;
- To develop a broad strategy for the campaign in terms of targets, message and mobilisation;
- To identify key tasks for this phase.

The programme for the workshop included:

- An input by the secretary general on the state of the organisation;
- An input on developing a campaign strategy including research results and tasks;
- provincial commissions;
- commission reports and discussions;
- adoption of programme of work;
- concluding comments by the national chairperson

SUMMARY OF INPUT BY KGALEMA MOTLANTHE

Elections and transformation

The successful contestation of elections is a key vehicle through which the ANC pursues its goal of transformation through legislation, directing the country's resources to meet the majority's needs, transforming the state and contributing to local economic development.

Current political environment

The current political environment is very different from 1994. There are many positive and negative features. Some positives include: a democratic constitutional dispensation, relative political stability and peace, shifting government priorities and resources, the dominance of the ANC as a force for change. These must be balanced against: a largely untransformed public service, pockets of resistance to change, an economy that remains in the hands of a few, unemployment and poverty, a hostile media.

State of organisation

This is a central determinant of whether or not we carry through our historic responsibility. Some positives include: our vision and programme continues to find resonance among the people, our capacity to involve our structures and members in the development of policy, programmes and the election of leadership, the ANC is a truly national organisation, the organisation has capable leaders at all levels.

There are areas that require urgent attention: poor state of branches, lack of political programme around recruitment and renewal of membership, lack of consistent cadre development programmes, poor communication within the organisation, internal power struggles for positions, inadequate communication between constitutional structures and comrades deployed in government.

Broad tasks in preparation for elections

- Building the organisation through clear political programmes of action, recruitment, renewal and servicing of ANC membership, cadre development, improving internal communication.
- Communicating effectively with the masses through interaction and listening, clear and unambiguous messages about our programme and policies and developing our communication capacity at all levels.
- Strengthening links between the ANC and government through effective mechanisms of report back and accountability, resolving conflicts and tensions and through greater responsibility among constitutional structures for the work of governance including the establishing and functioning of governance committees.

Experience has shown that moving ballots to a separate counting station adds enormous administrative and security burdens and expense to the conduct of elections.

2.13 Declaration of results

2.13.1 Unofficial count results to be announced at the counting station

Immediately after the result of the count is determined, it should be announced by the counting officer at the counting station that he or she is assigned to. Votes would thereafter be aggregated at ward, municipal, provincial or national level, as the case might be.

2.13.2 Official declaration of results only by the Commission

However, the Commission must declare the official results of each election (for each voting district, Ward Municipality etc.) in accordance with its constitutional mandate.

2.14 Delimitation of voting districts

2.14.1 One voting station per district (with the exception of mobile voting stations and special voting)

A voting district is an election administration unit made up of a limited number of voters. There will be only one voting station for each voting district, with exceptions for mobile voting stations and special voting.

2.14.2 Criteria

The criteria for delimiting voting districts should take account of the following:

- the number of eligible voters
- topographical features
- geographical size
- the availability of transport
- municipal and provincial boundaries

2.15 Delimitation of wards

2.8.3 A voter may vote only in the voting district in which he or she is registered

A person may vote at a voting station only if his or her name appears on the segment of the voters' roll for that voting district.

This formulation would require a voter to vote in the voting district in which he or she is registered, thereby prohibiting that person from voting in any other voting district. This requirement of voting where registered is necessitated to prevent possible double voting and by the administrative burdens and expense of the alternative, which would involve forwarding votes contained in sealed envelopes to the appropriate voting districts. In such circumstances it would not be possible to declare a result within the constitutionally prescribed seven days.

2.9 **Tendered ballots**

Tendered ballots (which are of a different colour from ordinary ballots), could be used in case of a dispute about a persons right to vote. They would not be initially counted but could be taken into consideration should the dispute be resolved.

2.10 **Special voting**

2.10.1 The Commission should have the authority to provide where practicable for the following categories of special voters:

- 2.10.1.1 the physically infirm, the sick, the physically disabled and the pregnant who consequently cannot get to a voting station;
- 2.10.1.2 those serving in the election (e.g. election officers and security services personnel); and
- 2.10.1.3 diplomatic personnel abroad

The IEC should be given the authority to provide for special voting in the categories listed if and when requested to do so. However, if it is impracticable so to provide, the Commission should not be constrained to commit resources to special voting if this would mean that the conduct of free and fair general voting would be compromised.

2.10.2 No special voting in municipal elections

The administrative burden involved in providing for special voting in municipal elections would be prohibitive. There was no provision for special voting in the 1995/96 community elections either.

election being set aside by a court, in which case the President proclaims such provincial election. This section also provides that any election must be held within ninety days of the proclamation. Again, the Act should provide that a provincial election may be proclaimed at any time prior to the dissolution of a provincial legislature or at the latest on the day it is dissolved, and that an election may not be held sooner than, say, 75 days after proclamation.

Municipal elections: Municipal elections are independent of one another and will not necessarily be held simultaneously. The Constitution does not make provision for the proclamation of municipal elections. A municipal election should not be held less than a minimum number or more than a maximum number of days after the election is proclaimed. The same kind of link between the dissolution of a council and the proclamation of an election as applies at other levels of government should be created. The minimum and maximum number of days must be calculated on the basis *inter alia* of the administrative capacity of the Commission and included into the Act.

2.4.3 Proclamation of municipal elections by the Minister responsible

The Minister responsible for local government should proclaim a municipal election and municipal by-elections after consultation with the IEC.

2.5 Voting days and hours

2.5.1 One day

There should be a single day for voting. The conduct of elections will be significantly complicated if more than one day is generally allowed for voting. Because of the relatively small size of voting districts, it will be practicable to provide every eligible voter with the opportunity to vote in a single day.

2.5.2 07:00 - 21:00

Voting hours should be from 07:00 until 21:00.

If a person entitled to vote at a specific voting station is within the perimeter of that voting station at 21:00, that person must be allowed to vote.

2.5.3 Commission can extend voting period

Any extension of the voting days or hours at a particular voting station should be by the IEC and at its discretion and should occur only in exceptional circumstances and in order to ensure free and fair elections. This

TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR ELECTIONS: 1998

1. PROVINCIAL STRATEGY WORKSHOPS

Immediately after the national strategy workshop, each province should set a date for a one day provincial strategy workshop – not later than the end of August. The workshop should be held over one day and should involve the PEC with Regional representation, Leagues and Alliance, NEC deployees, MPs and MPLs and members of the Provincial Election Team. National will contribute R10 000 to the cost of these workshops for each province. Provinces should assess the need for a separate workshop or add on a day to provincial conferences.

Programmes should be sent to national for approval and advice and at least one person from the National Elections Management Team should attend.

2. SPECIALISTS

MANAGEMENT:

For all provincial election co-ordinators to discuss their management responsibilities, systems and procedures. To take place in mid-July.

LEGAL:

As soon as the Electoral Act and the voter registration regulations are finalised, a national workshop will be held for 4 legal specialists per province to enable them to act as support for the Provincial Elections Team.

FINANCIAL:

In July a national workshop will be held for the elections bookkeeper and provincial treasurer to learn the financial and budgeting systems that will be used for elections.

COMMUNICATIONS:

In August a national workshop will be held for key communicators in the ANC. The elections and provincial media person from each province will attend. The focus will be on the message and communication strategy.

3. VOTER REGISTRATION

TRAINING OF REGIONAL ADMINISTRATORS AND ORGANISERS

At the end of July all provincial and regional organisers and administrators will attend a national workshop to discuss and develop the organising strategy at branch level for voter registration and outreach work. This

ISSUES FOR NEC DISCUSSION, APPROVAL and DECISIONS

1. Approval on broad strategy. This includes:
 - Goal
 - Key challenges
 - National targets: specific challenges relating to the 5 safe provinces, 2 marginal provinces, and 2 provinces where the ANC is in opposition.
 - Message themes for this phase
 - Mobilisation strategy
 - Election structures
2. Agreement on tasks for this phase. This includes tasks for each level of organisation (p10) as well as the listening campaign which involves ten forums per province to begin in July with uniform programmes and speaker's notes.
3. Political issues:

tactical alliances: tactical or strategic alliances may be necessary for election purposes in marginal and weak provinces. This may include broader MDM organisations or smaller political parties. The NEC should initiate a discussion paper to guide provinces.
4. Decision on dissemination and analysis of ANC research results:

Brief constitutional structures and workshops verbally for discussion on strategy development;
Hand out documents with results to constitutional structures of the organisation and have discussions;
Other options?

SUMMARY FROM COMMISSIONS

There were five commissions divided according to a strategic perspective on provincial dynamics. The provinces where the ANC is strong were in one commission: Eastern Cape, Northern Province, North West, Mpumalanga and Free State; the provinces where the ANC is weak were in two commissions based on the different factors that would define strategy: Western Cape and KwaZulu/Natal; and the provinces where the ANC has a marginal majority were divided into two commissions: Northern Cape and Gauteng, which, although both marginal, are dealing with significantly different problems.

All commissions discussed a national strategy in the context of provincial specifics. They looked at the following questions:

- our goal and objectives;
- provincial target groups and challenges;
- issues confronting the ANC;
- organisational weaknesses;
- use of leadership;
- voter registration;
- tactical alliances;
- opposition;
- list process;
- message.

General points

The goal is to consolidate our 1994 figure and target new votes which implies a high turnout as well as win all nine provinces. Targets therefore include: consolidating our base support, targeting rural voters (particularly in KZN), young voters who have never voted before, minorities, young African men and older African women. Challenges include traditional leaders, civil servants and undecided voters. Critical issues include retrenchments and downsizing of the civil service (the vast majority of employed people in the Northern Province are employed by the civil service). In addition, security and bad roads in former bantustan areas must be dealt with for effective campaigning and for election day itself. Tactical alliances in the safe provinces are a burden to the organisation. In other provinces, they need to be looked at, for example, the MF in KZN. Mechanisms must be developed to close gaps in our organisation which can be exploited by the opposition. The main opponent in KZN is the IFP and there are a number of problems around irregularities on voting day. In the Northern Cape, the main opposition is the NP. In Gauteng, an opposition

2.10.3 No voting stations in foreign countries or in prisons

Experience has shown that the administrative burdens and expense involved in providing voting stations in foreign countries and in prisons is excessive. The categories of persons who are abroad (with the exception of diplomatic personnel) or in prison are there either voluntarily or through voluntary conduct. That differentiates them from the categories of persons for whom special voting should be provided. The financial and administrative cost of foreign and prison voting is prohibitive and disproportionate to the number of voters catered for. It should be remembered that the phenomena of forced exile and political imprisonment, which featured in the 1994 elections, are no longer part of our society.

2.11 **Regulation of election activities**

2.11.1 No regulation of print media

The print media should not be specially regulated for elections. There appears to be no pressing need for such regulation. If the print media are regulated for elections, great care would need to be taken to ensure that the right of freedom of expression is not violated.

2.11.2 Regulation of broadcasting media and of broadcasting programmes and advertisements by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (or its successor)

The broadcasting media should be regulated by the Independent Broadcasting Authority ("IBA") (or its successor) in terms of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (or its successor). Broadcasting programming and advertising should also be regulated by the IBA in accordance with the IBA Act. See sections 58 to 61 of the IBA Act.

2.11.3 No regulation of opinion polls

There appears to be no compelling reason to regulate opinion polls.

2.11.4 Exit polls may not be published prior to the declaration of an election result

Publication of exit poll results prior to the official declaration of an election result should be prohibited. However, the conduct of exit polls should not be prohibited.

2.12 **Counting**

Counting generally to take place at the voting station

Counting should take place at the voting station, unless the IEC otherwise.

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coalition poses the most serious threat. Look more closely at the possibilities of organisations siphoning away disaffected ANC support.

Recommendations from the commissions

- Draft guidelines for people holding office
- Develop an effective strategy for deployment to improve the visibility of leadership in targeted areas, on specific issues and in smaller forums and door-to-door work rather than rallies
- Audit of progress in terms of delivery and transformation
- Rotate PEC meetings across regions
- Leadership should reflect the demography of our country
- Message must be positive, inclusive and simple. In provinces where we are in opposition, we must capture the fact that we are not yet in power and what the benefits of an ANC victory are. In marginal provinces, the message should also capture the possibility of a return to the past. Message is not simply words, but actions as well and through action need to address the question of distance.
- A special research programme must be designed for KwaZulu/Natal
- The appointment of provincial CEOs must be looked at by National, particularly in KZN
- Voter education should target areas and individuals who will vote ANC
- In provinces, have cabinet meets the people days in different regions
- Use of radio especially community radio
- Elections should feature in June Alliance Summit
- Guidelines for fundraising
- MPs, MPLs, and councillors need to contribute to an election fund for paying volunteers.